/390 cont./

114 collected seemed to us later to lack precision.

125 The method that we have used is simple. For the seven African investigators (each concerning himself with six or seven families) and for the director of the investigation, it was primarily a matter of being present as often as possible and as long as possible with each family and of noting in a notebook devised for this use all of the financial activities of the family each day during a month of 31 days (1)

1. For detailed information on the method followed for this investigation, cf. Y. Mersadier, "Un essai d'enquête sur le niveau de vie d'une population urbaine /An attempt to investigate the living standard of an urban population/" [communication at the conference of experts on the social consequences of industrialization and the urban problems in Africa, Abidjan, September 1954].

[511] (the month of March 1954). We obtained quite accurate data on the "routine" expenses of the month, principally food, fuel, illumination, and maintenance, and basic elements for the calculation of other categories of expenses, clothing, material, equipment, various familial expenses, religious expenses, etc., which we wanted to estimate for the period of a year. But here we had to rely in part on the statements of the persons investigated. Nevertheless the almost continual presence of the investigator with the families for a month permitted him, in several questionings and by rechecking, to arrive at figures which we believe are quite close to reality.

125 434 The real income was often quite difficult to estimate. In principle there should have been no difficulties in the case of salaried workers, who willingly show their pay receipt. For the

/390 cont./

125 434 artisans it was necessary, aside from their family accounts, to consider those of their occupational activity; with regard to the cultivators, it is certainly /391/ among them that the greatest percentage of error is found. We have taken into account the proceeds from the sale of their harvest, often underestimated by the one concerned, the portion for home consumption, and the income obtained by supplementary activities practiced in the dry season, in order to arrive at an income figure that could be compared to that for salaried workers.

125 434 462 [536] [565] But, nearly all of the women, almost all of whom declare themselves to be "without occupation," have minor sources of income that permit them to balance a budget, or at least partially to make up a deficit. It is often a matter of small-scale commerce, sometimes domestic work, and sometimes the talents of an actress which attract sympathy and gifts, as we verified for a family of the griot /singer, storyteller/ caste. It was therefore necessary to look closely at each case before setting an exact figure. We nevertheless believe that we have been mistaken in two or three cases, which will reveal themselves below.

125 434 592 Of course, there were often cases where in a family, or rather let us say in the same "unit of consumption," since this is the term that we shall use most often (1), several persons

[104] [594]

1. Each time that we speak of "family," it is actually the unit of consumption that is involved. To designate the familial grouping in the Western sense of the word, we shall use the term "restricted family."

received income. The entire income retained is not always the sum of these incomes. We have studied the budgets of groups and not the budgets of individuals. Now, these groups, these "units of consumption," only rarely correspond to the restricted family of Western type. They often contain individuals who, whether or not they have a kin tie with a member of the restricted family, on the one hand participate in the economic

/391 cont./

125 life of the unit of consumption and, on the other hand, part
434 company with it for other activities.
592 The clearest case is that of the boarder who takes his
[437] meals in the unit of consumption and pays the cost of these meals. Though simple, it is exceptional, as is the extreme case where all the incomes are put together. Between the two, there are many possible situations. For each unit of consumption we have therefore set apart, from among all the incomes received by its members, that which is available to the head of the family to support his restricted family and to fulfill his obligations with regard to the other members of the unit of consumption who are not part of the restricted family.

125 /392/ However limited our sample may be, we have
*511 tried all the same to make it representative of the structure of the population of Thiès, as much from the standpoint of the ethnic group of the unit of consumption as from those of occupational group, income, and number of persons. Therefore, the selection of 45 families (the figure initially anticipated) suitable for us and agreeing to submit to the investigation was diffcult (1). The 43 units of consumption which are of concern

1. In this selection of families, our task was greatly facilitated by the syndical organization , the religious authorities, and the heads of quarters.

125 here are distributed as follows.
592 From the standpoint of income:
434 13 between 5,000 and 10,000 francs per month,
*511 9 between 10,000 and 15,000 francs per month,
5 between 15,000 and 20,000 francs per month,
8 between 20,000 and 30,000 francs per month,
8 above 30,000 francs per month, with one of 81,000 francs.

/393 cont./

125 Finally, according to the number of persons making up
592 the unit of consumption:
*511

5 of less than 5 persons,
18 of 5 to 9 persons,
12 of 10 to 14 persons,
5 of 15 to 19 persons,
3 of 20 persons and more.

[434] On all of these points the distribution is nearly normal. Only the group with incomes of 15,000 to 20,000 francs is somewhat scantily represented, the average of the lower group being perhaps, on the contrary, somewhat too high.

125 But this apparent balance presents a problem; every
*511 family, or nearly every one, has its own characteristics, and there are no two that are strictly comparable. This is why, in order to facilitate an understanding of certain points concerning the consumption of food commodities, we have had recourse to a device that is a little risky; from the standards utilized for the calculation of theoretical food requirements by the Institut National d'Hygiène de Paris, we have used for men, for women, and for children, according to their age category, a coefficient:

1 for men
0.8 for the women,
0.5 for children from 2 to 6 years old,
0.7 for children from 7 to 12 years old,
0.8 for children from 13 to 20 years old.

/394/ By addition, we have obtained a theoretical composition of the unit of consumption in men alone. We can then calculate the consumption of this theoretical man. Nursing children have been included in the category of 2 to 5 years old, but we have allowed the coefficient of 0.8 for nursing women. This compensates for that.

*511 Table I,[1] gives the composition of the unit of consumption
592 in men, women, and children, and in the last column its com-
594 position in "man units." The column preceding the one for the

[1] [see cat. 116, pp 11-12. - ANALYST]

/394 cont./
*511 592 the units of consumption with high incomes, for example, in families 31, 36, 37, 38, 40, 41. But its financial consequences will be more oppressive in the others /395/
/Table I appears here./

*511 434 /396/ Table II[1] lists, along with the ethnic group and the occupation of the head of the unit of consumption, the incomes in increasing order and the routine expenses verified during the month of the investigation. The small incomes, up to 10,000 francs, are essentially those of the laborers, orderlies, and two very petty artisans, a mattress-maker and a baker. We also find (No. 11) an auxiliary (1) worker of the Dakar-Niger, whose low income is explained by the fact that he is just starting in his occupation.

[104] [463]

1. The name "auxiliary" D. N. serves here to designate unskilled workers. It was borrowed from administrative terminology (used by the Dakar-Niger, "D. N.").

The cultivator whose income we have estimated at 8,150 francs actually cultivates very few fields. His family lives by means of very small-scale commerce practiced separately by the head of the family, his two wives, and his two sisters, all very old.

The incomes from 10,000 to 15,000 francs per month are those of the office employees and the unskilled workers (in the case of the laborer No. 15 there are actually two incomes which are combined). Two cultivators open the series starting at 15,000 and then we find successively the workers and skilled employees, a large-scale cultivator, and, in the category of large incomes, besides a truck-gardener and a jeweler, a representative of the liberal professions, our teachers and our doctor, the managerial workers and employees. No.

1 [see cat 11k pp13+14 - ANALYST]

/395 Table I cont./

*511
592
594

No.	Income	Restricted Family	U.C.	M	W	2-6	7-12	13-20	Theor. U.C.
32	25,000	5	6	2	1	1	1	1	4.8
33	25,000	4	7	1	2	2	1	1	5.1
34	25,900	4	4	2	1	1	0	0	3.3
35	27,000	5	6	1	2	1	1	1	4.6
36	34,000	3	15	4	7	1	0	3	12.5
37	36,000	11	24	7	10	2	2	3	19.8
38	50,000	5	13	5	5	3	0	0	10.5
39	51,000	6	11	1	3	2	4	1	8.0
40	55,000	15	24	4	9	7	4	0	17.5
41	55,000	8	14	2	6	3	3	0	10.4
42	56,000	11	11	2	2	1	3	3	8.6
43	81,000	4	5	2	1	1	1	0	4.0

/396 cont./

*511
[434]

43 also has two incomes (the same as No. 25).

A comparison of the incomes and expenses, up until about the middle of the table, shows an excess of expenses, sometimes not very important, but nevertheless exceeding 1,000 francs in two cases (Nos, 4 and 20). One might view this as the result of an error of estimation, either in the incomes or in the expenses. But it must not be forgotten that only routine expenses are still being dealt with, that is to say, for the small incomes that concern us now, the outlays made for food. It is therefore necessary to add to this figure all of the other expenses which we have calculated for a period of a year (divided by 12, of course). Table III,[1] where we have shown the monthly deficit in absolute value and in percentage of income, shows us what our budgets then become: the highest deficit is 45.2%, the lowest /397/ /Table II appears here/ /398/ 6.4%(1). (This last, strangely enough, is found

1. We are not counting here the

[1][See cat 116, pp 17-18 - ANALYST]

Thies
Wolof MS30
Serer FA32
Tukolor MS27
Fulani MS11
Soninke MS21
Bambara FA8

/397/

Table II

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Expenses
1	Sarakolé	Laborer	5,800	5,839
2	Peul	Orderly	6,100	6,726
3	Wolof	Laborer	6,500	5,383
4	Sérère	Laborer	6,700	8,251
5	Toucouleur	Orderly D. N.	6,745	6,772
6	Wolof	Mattress-maker	7,000	7,471
7	Wolof	Laborer	7,000	7,231
8	Wolof	Orderly	7,410	7,234
9	Wolof	Baker	7,500	7,842
10	Wolof	Cultivator	8,150	8,133
11	Moor	Auxiliary D. N.	8,940	9,067
12	Peul	Laborer	9,000	8,952
13	Wolof	Laborer	9,800	9,981
14	Wolof	Cultivator	10,000	8,092
15	Bambara	Laborer	10,000	8,501
16	Bambara	Auxiliary	10,675	10,013
17	Moor	Auxiliary	10,800	10,892
18	Peul	Spec. laborer	11,000	9,816
19	Toucouleur	Accountant	11,950	10,860
20	Bambara	Auxiliary D. N.	12,000	13,557
21	Wolof	Clerk	13,000	13,799
22	Wolof	Auxiliary	14,000	14,405
23	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	9,182
24	Wolof	Cultivator	15,000	13,809
25	Wolof	Auxiliary D. N.	15,630	13,801
26	Wolof	Employee P. T. T.	15,800	10,238
27	Wolof	Shoemaker	16,200	10,600
28	Wolof	Worker D. N.	22,000	18,641
29	Toucouleur	Police sergeant	22,000	18,730
30	Wolof	Weigher D. N.	24,000	14,305
31	Wolof	Carpenter	25,000	21,571
32	Wolof	Cultivator	25,000	7,850

Thiés
Serer FA32
Wolof MS30
SONINKE MS21
BAMBARA FA8

/397 cont./ Table II (cont.)

W
9R
30
B

No.	Ethnic Group	Occupation	Income	Expenses
33	Sérère	Chauffeur	25,000	15,706
34	Wolof	Employee P.T.T.	25,900	14,715
35	Wolof	Staff employee D.N.	27,000	16,654
36	Wolof	Private accountant	34,000	19,829
37	Wolof	Truck-gardener	36,000	23,680
38	Wolof	Jeweler	50,000	27,397
39	Sarakolé	Teacher	51,000	21,240
40	Wolof	Staffworker D.N.	55,000	31,004
41	Sarakolé	Head employee D.N.	55,500	21,105
42	Bambara	Chief worker, C.D.N.	56,000	24,548
43	Wolof	Doctor	81,000	34,612

/398 cont./

deficits of Nos. 24, 25, and 26, which are less significant. The slenderness of the deficit of No. 3 can be explained by the limited number of persons that the unit of consumption contains.

in the care of one of the families having the smallest income.)

This deficit is, of course, theoretical. Not having followed these families closely for an entire year, we cannot pretend to present an exact balance-sheet of their budget. It is possible that our percentages would be reduced in the course of a year, or a longer period, either by a reduction in expenses (reduction of consumption, or reduction of the unit of consumption itself) or by the creation of another source of income. The fact remains, however, that they do exist and that they are important.

It will be easy for us to show where they come from. It is almost impossible to explain rationally their persistence and their

*511 /411 cont./
*262 products of gathering. All, let us repeat, in very small daily
263 quantities. Moreover, these are the products that are the
443 objects involved in the small-scale commerce of the women:
● 434 quite often buying two or three times more than they need,
*511 they set up a little flat basket before the door of their con-
438 cession and suggest to the passers-by that they spare themselves the fatigue of going all the way to the market. They can make very small profits in this way, from five to ten francs a day.

*511 Nevertheless, with one thing added to another, the costs
*262 of these various condiments end up by absorbing another rela-
263 tively important part of the familial income (1).

1. The portion for dried fish is generally very close to 1/5 of the figures given.

The size of this income thus acts as a check on their consumption, but ultimately only the taste and the habits of each are truly determinative. /412/ /Table VIII appears here./ /413/ /Table IX appears here./

/414/ We mentioned under the rubric "Vegetables" only the truly important purchases. It is the housewife herself who calls them either vegetables or condiments, according to the importance that they will have in the meal that she is going to prepare; a greater quantity of vegetables will permit reducing the quantity of rice or millet. If the latter does not change, they are condiments. The nuance is understandable. Our investigators themselves made it, and it was subsequently difficult for us not to take it into account.

*511 The quantities given in Table IX are not actual quantities.
*262 We have again in this case eliminated the factor of quality, the differences in quality being replaced by differences in
[435] quantity. The "standard vegetable" chosen was the cabbage, which in March 1953 was worth 20 francs a kilogram. This

1 [i.e. - various condiments - ANALYST]
2 [see cat 116, pp 43-45 - ANALYST]

[Text continues on p. 46]

17: Mercier--28 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/26 cont./
There are many who, in the present unemployment crisis, can only maintain themselves in town thanks to the aid of their relatives. This results in a spontaneous form of insurance against unemployment (2).

369* 602

[464]

2. Which has become more and more important in Dakar in the last two years. Without speaking of the seasonal immigrants who find no work, the number of recorded unemployed amounts to more than 2,000.

2. The figures expressing the extent of family groups do not give, in a direct fashion, indications of the importance of this "familial parasitism." The fact of finding work, when it is a matter /27/ of a close relative, does not signify in any way that the group which has formed is going to split up: the tendency toward the traditional familial regrouping is not exercised solely in terms of extreme forms of mutual aid. The other data in figures that we gathered permit in themselves only a first approach to the problem (1). These

[434]

1. In fact, even though the idea of salaried person is clear, that of the person enjoying a non-salaried income is very broad; it does not assume that this income is able to assure completely the subsistence of this person (petty trade, piece work, etc.); this person may, since he is attached to a kinship group larger than the restricted family, benefit from partial aid. The investigation conducted at Thiès on

/27 cont./

369x
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[434]•

living standards made apparent the complexity of the notion of income; for example, there are incomes which do not correspond to any work, but come solely from a given social position (belonging to the griot caste, etc.). A similar investigation will be conducted in Dakar in August 1954 and will permit precise statements concerning these problems.

data only represent a snapshot taken on a certain date; the situation is very changeable, the dependent relatives, except when it is a matter of old men, are such only temporarily. Furthermore, the manifestations of familial mutual aid may go beyond the framework of the household. Let us take, in the whole of our population, the family groups containing more than five adults. The number of persons enjoying an income, reported for one adult, comes to between 0.5 and 0.7. One does not ascertain significant differences between categories on the quantitative level, the scale of situations in each one of them being very broad. Qualitatively, however, important differences appear. In the categories of superior functionaries and employees, members of the teaching profession and the intellectual professions, etc., and to a lesser degree among the subordinate functionaries and employees, women practicing petty commerce or similar activities are much less numerous than in other categories (but the number of women in a salaried occupation is higher). On the other hand, among the dependent adults (2), the adult sons and

369x
602
565

2. In our investigations, we have arbitrarily fixed the lower limit for the "adult" category at 18-20 years of age.

/85 cont./

443 while the housewife attends to her tasks, the oldest child makes the sale (12).

12. According to an economic investigation made by Mr. Mersadier in Thiès, the returns from these sales[1] do not exceed ten francs profit per day (Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N., July-Oct., 1955, series B, p. 411).

[434] [433]

Thus, the commerce in Thiès (and certainly in most of the cities of French West Africa) is diffused among all of the layers of the society and at the same time has adapted itself extremely well there. The branches of important commercial houses, which in the beginning were violently opposed to this diffusion not controlled directly by them, quickly understood all the benefits that they could draw from this new situation.

463 Paralleling this extension of commerce, the working class, to a more limited extent, has also taken on much greater importance. To the traditional artisans, potters, jewelers, and smiths have been added activities more modern in inspiration: photographers, clockmakers, repairers of phonographs, bicycles, or even trucks, and, in another category of enterprises, small restaurant keepers and /86/ proprietors of drink shops. Finally, the establishment of European artisans (hairdressers, pastry cooks, etc.) is a specific phenomenon of the social evolution in African cities since the last war, and Thiès is not escaping it.

[265] [275] [178]

2. Industry.

498 The industrial activity of Thiès gravitates principally around the repair shops of the Dakar-Niger (13). The

13. The two phosphate quarries opened by the Société Péchiney some 15 kilometers from the city (Pallo and Lam-Lam)

[317] [464] [162]

1 [ie, by "doorstep" merchants - ANALYST]

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

563 [433] [735] them strict enough Muslims, the main distinguishing feature of their homeland, the Vallée du Fleuve du Sénégal, is its poverty compared with that of other parts of Senegal. Diop Abdoulaye in his study of Toucouleur immigration into Dakar estimates that the average *per capita* income of a Toucouleur of that region is little more than 4,000 *C.F.A.* [434] per annum, i.e. about £6 a year. It is this rather than any real tribal differences that makes the Vallée a special problem, and this as much as any ethnic factor accounted [665] for the existence of the *Union Générale de la Vallée du Fleuve.*

563 619 The only real minority area in the Senegal is the Casamance, whose special position is further emphasised by its separation from the main block of Senegal by the Gambia. In the past it has been thought of as geographically, economically, socially and even religiously separate from the rest of Senegal. A forest zone closer to its neighbours Portuguese Guinea and the Republic of Guinea, it remained very underdeveloped by the French, though the present Government is taking this fact into account with a special development programme for the area. This separateness was emphasised by the very name Casamance. The people describe themselves to this day as *Casamançais* rather than Senegalese, though this could well be accepted on the same terms as a Briton describing himself as Scots or Welsh. It is fortunate that the tendency is to talk in terms of regional rather than tribal origin. However one of the important factors in the Casamance has been tribal. The Diolas were until very recently an animist people with an entirely different social organisation from that of the main groups of Senegal, though as we have already pointed out they had traditional ties with the Serer which went as far as the injunction that a Diola should never spill the blood of a Serer. But today the Diola are being drawn into the main socio-religious pattern of Senegal. In the most recent estimate of the religious [162] [771] adherence of the population of Casamance, estimated at 327,500, 284,000 were Muslims, only 28,000 Christians and

5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37

progress. This he then transmits to the village, and in Casamance *animation* has worked to the extent of building a thirty-five kilometre road which cut the journey between two important villages by nearly fifty kilometres. In the Vallée du Fleuve, people who never grew rice before have now quadrupled their incomes by producing rice under a rural animation scheme.

All this President Dia hopes will raise the standard of living of each man by 3.5 per cent each year, doubling it by the fourth four year plan in 1975.

The plan is an ambitious one, an attempt to create a new Senegal synthesising the best of Africa and Europe. If it works, and the political future of both Senghor and Dia may well depend on this, then Senegal may become a pilot nation for Africa both economically and culturally. Senegal will then be in a sense a justification for the French assimilation policy, for although it failed in its attempts to assimilate the Senegalese both culturally and politically it has left profound marks on Senegalese society. And even if the experience of assimilation in Senegal has demonstrated the immense difficulties not only of one group trying to assimilate the other to its own standards, but of even getting the assimilating group to accept the other group as political and cultural equals, the end result may be the production of an African society which, whilst maintaining its own national identity, may prove a bridge between Africa and Europe and their two cultures.

/19 cont./

435 francs C. F. A. per kilo of shells. This situation led to an intervention by the public authorities, anxious to fix a stable price at production.

1) The purchase-price at production and the standard of living of the producer of groundnuts. It was impossible to make any calculation of the price of groundnuts at the stage of production because of the lack of available data with regard to the elements of the cost price. The government determined the price at production, starting from the price C. F. A. in France and subtracting the various costs of commercialization, imposts, and maritime transport. Since the 1955-1956 campaign, these prices have been about 22 francs C. F. A. per kilo of shells at Dakar, 21.25 at Kaolack, and 20.5 at Ziguinchor. Actually these prices are much higher than the world market price. According to M. Barbier, they are the "social and political" prices. In a word, the French consumer "accepts" an overprice for the finished product.

• 434 435 What does the price thus fixed represent for the producer? Since it is impossible to obtain data on the cost price, only an idea of the exchange value /valeur libératoir/ of a kilo of groundnuts can be used. All of the statistics utilize the criterion of the price of millet and rice, basic commodities for the producer of groundnuts. Although the value of this reference can be argued, it would appear that, after the difficult period of the war, the producer has seen an increase in his purchasing power, which around 1951 was comparable to that of the period preceding the conflict. Since that date, however, in spite of the sacrifices consented to by the French consumer, he has been able to maintain his living standard only by appreciably increasing the volume of the harvest, that is, of the area cultivated, because the progression of the price of millet, through the deficient harvests, and of rice, through Indochina's leaving the franc zone, has been faster than that of the market price of groundnuts. Nevertheless, recourse to the notion of "ratio of exchange" for the producer of groundnuts,

/19 cont./

434 obtained by the ratio of the index of the F. O. B. price of
435 groundnuts to the balanced index of the various import products, led to a more encouraging situation: on a base of 100 for 1949, the ratio of exchange in 1958 would be 114.5 in favor of the Senegalese producer. M. Barbier concludes: "The ratio of exchange for the Senegalese producer has /20/ been improved; the difference in it can be confirmed in most of the underdeveloped areas."

Actually all of these calculations are theoretical, and, on the whole, the living standard of the producer has remained low. The "average" cultivator, cultivating about a hectare, receives less than 20,000 francs C.F.A. for an average yield of 800 kilograms. This sum is modest, and, it must be added, at the time of selling an important part
[452] goes for the settlement of debts in cash and especially in kind, contracted during the winter with the trader at a very high interest rate. It is estimated that the total of these credits represents 20% of the value of the harvest.

435 This fixing of the price at production considerably
439 reduces the fluctuations of the market, which in fact is governed by the needs of the former mother country.

2) The groundnut market depends on the needs of France. One cannot speak of competition at the selling stage in a market where the purchase prices paid to the producer are authoritatively fixed. In fact the demand essentially depends on French needs, as is decidedly expressed in the decree of 13 November 1954 which regulates the importation of oleaginous products in the mother country. Senegal can export to it a quota of 225,000 metric tons oil-equivalent, at a guaranteed minimum price and duty free. This price may vary within narrow limits, around 5%. The regularization of the market is handled by an official body, the Société interprofessionnelle des oléagineux fluides alimentaires (S.I.O.F.A.), solely qualified to import from foreign countries in order to depress prices and bring them back under